

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 039041 TOSEC 020170  
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TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

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FOR LAKE ONLY FROM JANEWAY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS), ABUD; PFOR

SUBJECT: DRAFT OPENING STATEMENT BEFORE HOUSE APPRO-  
PRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1977

, A DRAFT ALONG THE LINES DISCUSSED, AND DISCUSSED WITH  
GELB AND VELIOTES.

2. BEGIN TEXT: I'M PLEASED TO BE HERE TODAY AS YOU MEET TO

CONSIDER THE FY 1978 BUDGET REQUEST FOR THE STATE DEPART-

MENT. WE ARE EXTREMELY GRATEFUL FOR THE SUPPORT WHICH THIS

SUBCOMMITTEE HAS GIVEN THE STATE DEPARTMENT OVER THE YEARS,

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PAGE 02 STATE 039041 TOSEC 020170

AND WE LOOK FORWARD TO A CONTINUING CLOSE RELATIONSHIP.

THIS IS THE FIRST OF A SERIES OF MEETINGS I WILL BE HAVING

WITH CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES IN THE NEXT SEVERAL DAYS. AT

THE REQUEST OF THE CHAIRMAN, CONGRESSMAN SLACK, I'D LIKE

TO TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY TO TALK WITH YOU FOR A FEW

MINUTES THIS MORNING ABOUT OUR FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES,  
AND THE WORK WE'VE BEGUN IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEM.

3. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IS COMMITTED NOT ONLY TO  
THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE, BUT TO A SEARCH FOR JUST  
SETTLEMENT OF DIFFERENCES WHERE PEACE IS THREATENED.

WE ARE COMMITTED TO FORGING STRONG BONDS OF COOPERATION  
WITH OUR ALLIES. WE BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE NO TIME TO LOSE  
IN CONFRONTING THE MENACE OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, AND  
IN MOVING TOWARD REDUCTION AND EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF  
NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS, AND OF ARMS TRANSFERS.

A COHERENT FOREIGN POLICY IN 1977 MUST BE INTEGRATED WITH  
A COHERENT INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY. EAST-WEST  
RELATIONS HAVE A BEARING ON ALL OF THESE PRIORITY

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PAGE 03 STATE 039041 TOSEC 020170

CONCERNS, AND SO, INCREASINGLY, DO NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS.

AND CENTRAL TO THE PHILOSOPHY THAT GOVERNS OUR PRIORITIES

ARE TWO FURTHER COMMITMENTS. THE PRESIDENT HAS SPOKEN

AND I HAVE SPOKEN OF OUR DEDICATION TO AN OPEN FOREIGN

POLICY. WE BELIEVE THAT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR POLICY

DEPENDS ON PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN IT; WE MUST SHOW CONFI-

DENCE IN THE PUBLIC IN ORDER TO EARN CONFIDENCE IN RETURN.

SECONDLY, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WILL SPEAK OUT IN

DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, BECAUSE WE BELIEVE NO ENDURING

PEACE IS POSSIBLE WITHOUT EFFORTS TO ENHANCE THE DIGNITY

OF ALL PEOPLES.

4. IT IS EASIER TO SET PRIORITIES THAN TO ACHIEVE THE

GOALS THAT FOLLOW FROM THEM. WE HAVE TAKEN INITIATIVES  
ON ALL THESE FRONTS IN OUR FIRST MONTH IN OFFICE, AND  
WE HAVE A SENSE OF HOW DIFFICULT THE WORK CUT OUT FOR US  
WILL BE. BUT LET ME SAY THAT WE ARE AT WORK. IN SOME  
CASES WE ARE ALREADY INVOLVED IN HARD BARGAINING; IN  
OTHERS, WE ARE IN THE PROCESS OF DETERMINING OUR BARGAIN-

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PAGE 04 STATE 039041 TOSEC 020170

ING STRATEGY. WE HAVE ENCOUNTERED A FAIR SHARE OF  
FRUSTRATIONS, BUT WE HAVE REASONS FOR OPTIMISM IN A  
NUMBER OF OUR UNDERTAKINGS. LET ME BE SPECIFIC.

5. AS YOU KNOW, I ARRIVED BACK FROM MY FIRST JOURNEY  
ABROAD AS SECRETARY OF STATE TWO DAYS AGO. OUR PURPOSE  
WAS TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR A LASTING, OVERALL SETTLE-  
MENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST BY HEARING FOR OURSELVES WHAT  
THE HEADS OF STATE THERE FEEL THEIR LEGITIMATE INTERESTS  
TO BE. MANY OF THE LEADERS IN THE MIDDLE EAST ARE MOVING --  
SOME WITHIN THE LAST FEW DAYS -- TO AGREEMENT ABOUT THE  
SHAPE OF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, BUT THEY DON'T AGREE  
ABOUT THE BOUNDARY LINES OF IT. THAT IS A KEY POINT ON  
WHICH WE MUST FOCUS AS WE CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE A  
SETTLEMENT IN 1977. THIS WE WILL BE DOING IN FOLLOW-UP  
TALKS HERE WITH THE LEADERS OF THE MIDDLE EAST, AND WITH  
THE SOVIET UNION.

6. VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S MEETINGS WITH HEADS OF  
GOVERNMENT IN EUROPE AND IN JAPAN IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING

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PAGE 05 STATE 039041 TOSEC 020170

THE INAUGURATION DEMONSTRATED AT THE START THAT PRESIDENT  
CARTER MEANS TO CONDUCT FOREIGN POLICY IN CLOSE CONSULTA-  
TION WITH OUR ALLIES. OUR ECONOMIC AND SECURITY TIES ARE  
IN NEED OF REVIEW, AND IN SOME INSTANCES WE MUST WORK OUT  
WITH OUR ALLIES HOW TO MEET ENERGY AND TRADING NEEDS  
WHILE AVOIDING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. THIS HAS BEEN THE  
SUBSTANCE OF SOME VERY GRAVE TALKS WE HAVE HAD WITH  
GERMAN AND FRENCH REPRESENTATIVES IN RECENT DAYS. THE  
VICE PRESIDENT'S TRIP ALSO SET THE TONE FOR THE ECONOMIC  
"SUMMIT" THAT IS PLANNED FOR THE SPRING.

7. WE FACE AN EXPLOSIVE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA,  
AND WE ARE WORKING THROUGH SEVERAL CHANNELS TO ENCOURAGE  
A RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS TO RESOLVE IT. WE ARE URGED  
ON ALL FRONTS TO USE OUR INFLUENCE, BUT WE ARE RECEIVING  
QUITE DIFFERENT COUNSEL ABOUT HOW TO USE IT FROM THE  
LEADERS OF THE COUNTRIES MOST DEEPLY INVOLVED. AMBASSADOR  
ANDREW YOUNG'S JOURNEY TO SOUTHERN AFRICA WAS PART OF AN  
EFFORT TO HELP US MAKE A WISE CHOICE ON THAT SCORE, AND

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PAGE 06 STATE 039041 TOSEC 020170

ALSO TO HELP US FIND THE BEST WAY TO FURTHER THE PRINCIPLE  
OF MAJORITY RULE WITHOUT THREATENING THE FRAMEWORK OF  
PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS FOR A SETTLEMENT. WE HAVE IDENTI-  
FIED OURSELVES WITH THE GOAL OF MAJORITY RULE; NOW WE FACE

HARD DECISIONS ABOUT HOW TO ENCOURAGE THE ATTAINMENT OF  
THAT GOAL.

8. OUR MISSION TO CYPRUS, GREECE AND TURKEY, HEADED BY  
CLARK CLIFFORD IS AN URGENT ATTEMPT TO HELP PEOPLE LIVE  
TOGETHER WHO ARE TORN BY DEEP DIFFERENCES OF HERITAGE.  
CYPRUS HAS BEEN A PAWN IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS FOR  
TOO LONG; IT IS TIME FOR IT TO BECOME A LAND THAT CAN  
LIVE IN PEACE.

9. CLOSER TO HOME, WE ARE INVOLVED IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH  
PANAMA ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE PANAMA CANAL. THE  
PANAMANIAN HAVE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS, BUT SO DO WE.  
WHAT HAS BEEN OBSCURED IS THAT OUR INTERESTS IN THE FUTURE  
ECONOMIC AND MILITARY SECURITY OF THE CANAL OVERLAP. THAT  
OVERLAP IS THE KEY TO A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF WHAT

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PAGE 07 STATE 039041 TOSEC 020170

WILL INEVITABLY BE DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS.

10. OUR AGENDA FOR DISCUSSIONS IN MOSCOW NEXT MONTH  
INCLUDES SOUTHERN AFRICA, A WIDE ARRAY OF ARMS CONTROL  
ISSUES, AND THE MIDDLE EAST. AS PART OF AN OVERALL  
FOREIGN POLICY REVIEW WE ARE AT WORK ON OUR PLANS FOR  
NEGOTIATING A SALT II AGREEMENT IN 1977, AN EFFORT THAT  
PAUL WARNKE WILL BE SPEARHEADING AT PRESIDENT CARTER'S  
DIRECTION. WE DON'T BELIEVE THAT RELATIONS WITH THE  
SOVIET UNION DEPEND ON THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF A  
PARTICULAR AGREEMENT OR MEETING, BUT WE WANT TO MAKE  
PROGRESS THIS YEAR IN REDUCTION AND CONTROL OF STRATEGIC

WEAPONS, AND AS THE PRESIDENT AND I HAVE INDICATED, WE  
DON'T INTEND TO LET THE NEGOTIATIONS STAND OR FALL ON THE  
QUESTION OF THE BACKFIRE AND CRUISE MISSILE. AND AS TO  
EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN A BROADER SENSE, LET ME REAFFIRM  
THAT IT WILL BE OUR POLICY TO CONDUCT OUR RELATIONS ON AN  
ISSUE-BY-ISSUE BASIS. WE FEEL IT IS TIME TO CLARIFY THE  
MEANING OF DETENTE: THAT IS, TO DEFINE THE GROUND RULES

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PAGE 08 STATE 039041 TOSEC 020170

BY WHICH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION PURSUE  
THE LESSENING OF TENSIONS. REALISM TELLS US THAT OUR  
RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ARE NOT AN IMMACULATELY  
WOVEN WEB, BUT A SERIES OF INTERACTIONS THAT INVOLVE BOTH  
COMPETITION AND COMMON INTEREST. SPECIFICALLY, WE DON'T  
BELIEVE THAT QUIESCENCE ON ISSUES OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON  
WHICH WE FEEL WE MUST TAKE A STAND IS THE WAY TO ACHIEVE  
OUR GOAL ON OTHER ISSUES, SUCH AS ARMS AGREEMENTS. AND  
WE RECOGNIZE THAT WHEN WE ARE AT ODDS ON AN ISSUE OF  
IMPORTANCE, OUR DEALINGS ON OTHER ISSUES WILL BE AFFECTED.  
BUT THAT IS THE WAY PEOPLE LIVE WITH EACH OTHER IN THE  
REAL WORLD, AND THAT IS THE WAY, WE BELIEVE, NATIONS MUST  
BARGAIN WITH EACH OTHER IN THE REAL WORLD.

11. THE PRESIDENT AND I HAVE STRESSED THE CONCERN WE  
FEEL ABOUT NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND ARMS TRANSFER  
ISSUES. THE ACTIONS WE HAVE TAKEN TO COMMUNICATE THAT  
CONCERN TO KEY ALLIES CONSTITUTE ONE POSITIVE STEP;

ANOTHER IS OUR CONSOLIDATION OF POLICY AND DECISION

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PAGE 09 STATE 039041 TOSEC 020170

MAKING ABOUT THESE ISSUES IN ONE PLACE, FOR THE FIRST  
TIME -- THE OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
SECURITY ASSISTANCE. THIS OFFICE WILL WORK CLOSELY WITH  
THE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY, AND THE  
DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE. THIS CONSOLIDATION, HOWEVER, IS  
ONLY THE BEGINNING OF AN EFFORT TO MOVE FROM AN AD HOC  
WAY OF CONDUCTING OR CONDONING AN ARMS POLICY WHEREBY  
OUR LEFT HAND HAS QUITE LITERALLY NOT KNOWN WHAT  
OUR RIGHT HAND HAS BEEN DOING, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD  
TO ARMS TRANSFERS. WE ARE STILL DEALING WITH THESE  
QUESTIONS ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. WE ARE NOW CHALLENGED  
WITH FORMULATING AN EFFECTIVE OVERALL POLICY AS TO  
PROLIFERATION AND ARMS TRANSFERS. AND WE MUST MEET THE  
CHALLENGE IN FULL AWARENESS OF THE FACT THAT OUR DEVELOP-  
MENT OF A COHERENT POLICY IS LIKELY TO BE AT ODDS IN  
SOME CASES WITH LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF INDUSTRIAL  
CONCERNS HERE AND ABROAD, AND WITH WHAT OTHER COUNTRIES  
FEEL ARE THERE LEGITIMATE SECURITY INTERESTS. IT WILL

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PAGE 10 STATE 039041 TOSEC 020170

BE HARD TO MAKE ALL OF THESE INTERESTS MESH, BUT IT  
WOULD BE WORSE THAN FOLLY NOT TO PLEDGE OURSELVES TO  
THAT TASK.

12. AND WE FACE HARD CHOICES OF ANOTHER KIND IN RELATIONS  
BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. IN THE  
NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE WE HEAR THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE POORER  
NATIONS WHO WANT BETTER PRICES FOR THEIR RESOURCES--  
WHICH WILL IN MANY INSTANCES BE TRANSLATED INTO HIGHER  
PRICES FOR FOOD AND CONSUMER GOODS IN THE DEVELOPED  
COUNTRIES. FURTHERMORE, COMMUNICATION IN THIS DIALOGUE  
IS NOT MADE EASIER BY THE ECONOMIC REALITIES OF THE  
TIMES. IN RECENT YEARS THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS HAVE  
BEEN UP AGAINST DIRE AND DEEPENING ENERGY SHORTAGES,  
INFLATION, AND RECESSION: AT THE SAME TIME, DISPARITIES  
OF WEALTH IN THE DEVELOPING NATIONS ARE INCREASING.  
IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, HOW DO WE WORK TOWARD THE  
COMMON GOAL OF A MORE EQUITABLE DIVISION OF WEALTH IN  
THE WORLD, AND ASSURE THAT WHAT THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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PAGE 11 STATE 039041 TOSEC 020170

WANT REALLY GOES TO THE MILLIONS OF THEIR PEOPLE WHO  
SUFFER MOST FROM DEPRIVATION, AND NOT JUST TO THEIR  
GOVERNMENTS AND ELITES? WE DON'T KNOW, BUT WE KNOW THAT  
WE MUST FIND ANSWERS.

13. WE HAVE STARTED WORK ON ANOTHER IMPORTANT PIECE OF  
UNFINISHED BUSINESS: NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, WHERE SOME DIFFERENCES, INVOLV-  
ING CLAIMS, REMAIN UNRESOLVED. BUT LINES OF COMMUNICA-  
TION ARE OPEN, AND THE DIFFERENCES ARE UNDER DISCUSSION.  
AS YOU KNOW, THE PRESIDENT HAS ALSO EXPRESSED HOPE OF



PROGRESS IN SOLVING THE PROBLEMS THAT HAVE PREVENTED  
NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM AND WITH CUBA.  
OUR PURPOSE IN 1977 IS TO OPEN COMMUNICATION IN THE  
COMMUNITY OF NATIONS, MUCH AS IT IS THE PRESIDENT'S AND  
MY PURPOSE TO CONDUCT AN OPEN FOREIGN POLICY IN CANDID  
COOPERATION WITH CONGRESS, AND COMMUNICATION WITH THE  
AMERICAN PEOPLE.

14. I'D BE GLAD TO TALK WITH YOU INFORMALLY NOW ABOUT

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PAGE 12 STATE 039041 TOSEC 020170

MY MIDDLE EAST TRIP, AND AS MANY OF THE OTHER TOPICS

I HAVE TOUCHED ON AS WE HAVE TIME FOR THIS MORNING.  
HARTMAN

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